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and prison reforms, missionary and colonization agitations, and the Maine-Missouri controversy.

In some instances Mr. McMaster has been able to make his topic clearer by a new setting. He has taken a natural interest in demonstrating the causes of New York's commercial success over its rivals on the Delaware and Chesapeake. It is clear that the supremacy of the northern city was won soon after the close of the war, and was not due to the completion of the Erie Canal. It was the reward of the spirit that afterwards made the canal. In 1818, already had the more sluggish mercantile community of Philadelphia lost the prize that might have fallen to it. Western traders were obliged to pay in advance the freight dues from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. New York dealers collected freight dues when the goods were delivered, and charged one dollar and a half less per hundredweight than their Quaker brethren. Philadelphia merchants would not guarantee against damage to goods on the way. New York shippers took the risk of damages incurred before the delivery of the goods.

Some of the most interesting pages in the book are those that deal with the origins and expansion of public charitable and missionary organizations. Reports of the pioneer home missionaries of the West and South are used in an interesting way. Incidentally the wonderful prosperity of the Methodist Church in this country is luminously explained.

"Wherever they went they found great tracts of country inhabited by from twenty to fifty thousand people, in which there was not a preacher of any sect. Where there were any they were almost invariably Methodists. The discipline of the Methodists was especially well suited to the state of the West. Population was scattered. The people were poor, and not at all inclined to form societies and incur the expenses of maintaining a settled minister. A sect, therefore, which marked out the region into circuits, put a rider on each and bade him cover it once a month, preaching here to-day and there to-morrow, but returning at regular intervals to each community, provided the largest amount of religious teaching and preaching at the least expense. This was precisely what the Methodists did, and this was precisely what the people desired."

The map, opposite page 50, illustrating the Canadian campaigns, is inadequate, and the map on page 165, showing the scene of the Creek war, is not uniform with the surrounding text in its spelling of Indian names.

CHARLES H. LEVERMORE.

The Life of Samuel J. Tilden. By JOHN BIGELOW, LL.D. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1895. Two vols., pp. vii, 415, v, 412.)

EVERY student of politics or political history, every one who believes that political ideals and institutions practically and enormously affect the welfare of men, will find these volumes interesting — very interesting. To this praise,—the first and usually the chief praise craved by an author,—

Mr. Bigelow's biography is well entitled. Adverse testimony, perhaps naturally enough, is not set very fully and frankly before the reader; but the material is sufficiently given for tolerably just estimate of a political career of high rank. There are tedious and apparently useless genealogical data, some prolix details, which one can imagine without reading, and cannot read without nausea, of communications made to a conspicuous politician by male and female adventurers because he happened to be rich and to be a bachelor,—some anecdotes of unrelated persons and things, gravely put into the biography because they were told at dinner table when Tilden was present and may, therefore, have heard them. But if the book be read with judicious skipping, as Dr. Johnson intimated that every book should be read, the narrative will be found as lively as it is valuable and instructive.

The distinguished and venerable author, to whom American letters and public life are under many and solid obligations, intentionally and fairly lets the reader perceive that he labors under the limitations of a family biographer, who must turn his subject into something of a lay figure, lest his flesh-and-blood reality undo the dignity and perfection conventionally suited to a hero. Mr. Bigelow was a most intimate friend. Except during the war and last years of the slavery agitation, he was himself a zealous and important associate of Tilden, and thoroughly devoted to his political philosophy. He argues, therefore, like an advocate, leaving one in some perplexity to understand the inadequacy of popular esteem, or even the widespread distrust, from which, during several years before his absolute retirement in 1884, so really great and patriotic a man suffered. It is, no doubt, due to the pressure upon Mr. Bigelow's time and strength, that the editing or proof-reading of his work is imperfect; that long documents are thrust bodily into the narrative instead of their substance being made a part of it; that names are occasionally disguised, —as Benjamin *Stillman* for Benjamin *Silliman*, C. A. *Rapalke* for C. A. *Rapallo*, Anthony L. *Robinson* for Anthony L. *Robertson*; that dates are misprinted to the perplexity of readers in the next generation, as 1883 for 1893 as the year of the repeal of the Sherman silver law; that obvious exaggerations have been retained, like the assertion that Polk, who had been sixteen years in Congress, four years speaker of the national House, and governor of Tennessee, had probably, when nominated for the presidency, never been heard of by a hundred Democrats in New York.

Some of the disparagements of Tilden's political associates seem quite out of place. The depreciation of Seymour and President Cleveland are without justification in any facts which Mr. Bigelow narrates or in anything which, so far as he tells us, was said or written by Tilden. They apparently represent rather the personal dislikes of the biographer than the opinions of his subject. Whatever one may think of Horatio Seymour's political views, it is plain that Tilden shared them. The exaltation and beauty of his character, his self-sacrificing, generous, steadfast,

and active, although sometimes futile, devotion to the best kind of public service during years when, for sincere Democrats at least, American politics were in deep gloom,—and especially his support of Tilden's cause with his own unrivalled personal popularity in the Democratic party,—ought to have protected his memory, in this book at least, from slurs which, so far as concerns the biography, are gratuitous and irrelevant.

More striking illustration of this fault is seen in the elaborate indictment of Mr. Cleveland, to which its latter part is dedicated and which even seems, full of zest and measurably near to rancor as it is, to have spurred the author to his publication of the biography. He accuses the President, after his first election, of disrespectful neglect of Tilden's advice. No proof is given that Tilden shared the feeling; and the criticisms do not help his fame. The President did not, it is true, during Tilden's life, exhibit in high degree a faculty which has belonged to most great rulers, which is often a chief element of political power, as in the careers of William III. and Abraham Lincoln, and which Tilden himself used with large effect. The President had perhaps, in some cases, failed to bring into close official or personal relations with himself, or to be at ease and in confidence with Democrats of high talents and public services who enjoyed popular affection and respect, or to fully avail himself of the legitimate political strength which would have followed from open, tactful, and sincere friendship with such men. A great man becomes greater by this art. Washington's relations with Hamilton, Jefferson's with Madison, and, even better, Madison's and Monroe's with Jefferson, and Lincoln's with Seward, were fine examples. It is wise for a man in high station to co-ordinate the political help, brought by men of original powers and individual will and self-assertion, into efficient harmony with his own purposes, and to endure, or even to invite and welcome, the inconveniences sometimes incident to such comradeship. Whether the President had or had not, during Tilden's life, acquired much of this gift, it is certain that Mr. Bigelow's specifications of affront to Tilden are utterly inadequate. Mr. Cleveland was himself President; it would have been a false and absurd notion of gratitude and deference which could have led him to forget that he must follow his own conscience and will, and not those of Tilden or of any other sage or patriot. This would have been true if, in the winter and spring of 1884-1885, Tilden had been as robust as Jefferson was when he retired to Monticello, having before him an important and almost a fourth part of his career. But that a valetudinarian, within eighteen months of his death, feeble, broken, communicating with the world with extreme difficulty, should dominate any president, and, least of all, one like Mr. Cleveland, would have been a public calamity. Mr. Bigelow permits us to know that men in close personal relation to Tilden were keenly desirous of appointment by the new president. It would probably have been wise to gratify some of them, for there was genuine ability among them. It would have been folly, how-

ever, to establish at Graystone a kitchen cabinet to undermine the responsible cabinet at Washington. If Tilden's last years were years of pique and chagrin, —and we do not believe they were, —it was of no service to his fame, which the biographer has meant to guard, to exhibit the fact.

Samuel J. Tilden was a politician of the very first order. In this life-long invalid, whose physiognomy and bearing, and much of whose career, were like those of the shrewd, persistent, cautious, money-getting, unattractive solicitor in chancery of the English novel, were united that powerful adherence to political ideals, that noble gift of political imagination, that ability in organization, and that practical mastery of details which belonged to Richelieu, Strafford, Walpole, the elder Pitt, and Alexander Hamilton, and which, in their greatest splendor, were visible in the career of that politician who fell in blood at the foot of Pompey's statue. But the ideas of this sober and unheroic American were as patriotic and beneficent as those of Hampden or Franklin. Love of popular rights, jealousy, and even hatred of monopolies and special privileges, optimist confidence in the ultimate success of political virtue and wisdom among the plain masses of men, — all these, which the intellectual dominance of Jefferson, at the end of the last century, had established as the very atmosphere of American public life, were Tilden's controlling inspiration. When hardly more than a boy he enjoyed the friendship of Van Buren, and accepted this cult from that able teacher. Physical ailments, from which he never really recovered, long detained him from active life; but meantime the rustic affluence of his father secured him leisurely and ample book education. Long before he was ready to practise law, and even before he was of age, he was reasoning soundly and deeply in finance and politics, and exhibiting a singular clearness and accurate thoroughness of statement. Indeed, between the address which he wrote for a county convention in 1833, when he was nineteen years old, or his speech in 1840 on "Currency, Prices, and Wages" in defence of Van Buren's Independent Treasury, which was justly pronounced, at the time, a "most masterly production," —and his messages from Albany in 1875 and 1876, the casual reader will find little difference in maturity of expression or general trend of thought. The doctrines of strict construction of federal powers, of divorce of government from business, whether to promote or to restrain, of personal freedom, of plain economy in administration, of the dependence of currency solely upon its intrinsic and exchangeable value without legislation. —these were never better, never more sincerely stated. Tilden must be counted among the first of American political essayists. He saw straight; he detested vagaries and demagoguery; he wrote distinctly what he meant. Though he polished his sentences with infinite assiduity, it was to the end of perspicacity and correctness rather than of grace.

Tilden helped on the victory which Van Buren and Wright, after painful hesitation, gave Polk, in 1844. The Democratic soundness on finan-

cial questions, and the present ease and future hope which "regularity" permitted, were more powerful than the dread that the party might, in flagrant violation of its own theory and traditions, be prostituted to the extension of slavery by federal power. But the continued and imperious dictation of the slave interest, the specific danger of slavery establishment in the territory acquired from Mexico, Polk's proscriptive behavior, and the defeat of Wright for governor in 1846, had, by 1848, given provocation impossible to endure. Tilden was a genuine power in the revolt. With Wilmot and Chase and Van Buren he promised to "fight on and fight ever" for Free Labor and Free Men, and joined in the undaunted cry, "No more slave states, and no more slave territory." The practical work of the Democratic rebels in New York was well done; their votes in November, 1848, exceeded those of the "regular" Democracy. Then followed the futile and ignominious "harmony" of 1852 and 1856. The dread of a divided Union constrained Jackson Democrats as much as it did Webster and Clay Whigs. The prophetic and correct belief that the sheerly sectional character of the Republican party must bring on that division or a fearful and uncertain war, and the hope that Divine Providence would, through economic conditions, and without their help or martyrdom, find a way to resist the extension of slavery, brought Tilden and his associates to a discontented submission.

From 1848 to 1871, he gave much intelligent and honest service to politics. But until the Civil War the fury of the slavery controversy left a Democrat of his ideas and training no satisfactory place. So he kept his law office and made money. During the war and reconstruction periods he could be more useful; and he well discharged the duties of that loyal and constitutional opposition which in most national crises is essential to public safety. He attended assiduously to the formal and detail work of organization; he served as chairman of committees, he drafted papers. Until 1871, however, politics was no more than an avocation. His vocation was law, in which he acquired, perhaps, the largest fortune ever earned in the art. Although he had no forensic grace or aptitude, he was a very able lawyer. It was his power of analysis, his astute and thorough preparation, and not eloquence, which won his cases. But his fortune was not earned in court or in routine work of a law office. In the only examples Mr. Bigelow gives of his professional bills the charges for separate services range from \$10 to \$50. But such charges do not explain the accumulation of a fortune of \$5,000,000. And Tilden was rightly angry at Lieutenant-Governor Dorsheimer for saying that he had made his money by "speculation." A clear explanation would have been a real service to his fame among the masses, to whom such an accumulation by a lawyer seems wonderful or even sinister. It would have been well to amplify the account of his money-getting which Mr. Carter gave in his noble sketch. The foundation of the fortune lay in the great fees (often received in securities, the value of which depended upon the success of the work) which the owners of various and conflicting securities

of railroads justly and gladly paid for services which helped bring order from chaos, for astute invention of a common interest for warring parties, and for the rescue of the true value of what had seemed valueless. Tilden stood resolutely for the genuine honor of the bar; and his wealth did not overcome his courage. When under the Tweed ring, most powerful judges in New York were corrupt, tyrannical, and audacious, he openly declared the shame of his calling, if it were "to become merely a mode of making money, making it in the most convenient way possible, but making it at all hazards." If the bar "were to be merely an institution that seeks to win causes and win them by back-door access to the judiciary, then," he said, "it is not only degraded, but it is corrupt." Nor were these only words; they did not go beyond the practical service to the profession which he soon rendered.

Tilden's political work during the four years after the municipal uprising in New York in 1871, placed him among illustrious Americans. Its courage, thoroughness, and skill can hardly be exaggerated. His preliminary and sudden capture of the comptroller's office, which was the very citadel of the political thieves and ruffians of New York; his demonstration of the precise method of the monstrous robberies from the city treasury, and the criminal convictions his demonstration procured; his self-sacrificing exile to Albany as a member of the lower house of the legislature, and his promotion there of the impeachment of the judges; his warfare upon the canal ring of New York; his constructive energy in legislation; his overwhelming indictment of wrong-doing under Grant's administration; his far-seeing and firm, but popular and convincing treatment of financial questions,—all this extraordinary work has never been surpassed in American politics. It was a serious calamity for the United States that, in spite of its emphatic choice, it should have been cheated of such service by a master of his rank for another four years, and those in the White House. It is to this school that young American politicians, who would practise their art with skill, but with honor and love of country, should come for their lessons; among its traditions they should dream their dreams.

Mr. Bigelow has wisely set out the confession officially made by Tilden's political adversaries at Washington and in the United States Attorney's office in New York, after legal delays were exhausted, that the attack upon him for supposed failure to pay his income tax many years before, was an election device, unfounded in law or justice. The confession shames every American who would have public life decent. The business of the "cipher despatches," though occupying a considerable part of the biography, is treated neither clearly nor satisfactorily. Bitter complaint of the disclosure of private telegrams, or of the concealment of telegrams which would have implicated the Hayes managers, is not a happy note for Tilden's defender. We are not now interested in the virtue of other people or in the manner, right or wrong, in which the documentary evidence was obtained; we are concerned only with what that

evidence means for Tilden. It would have been better to have given the adverse testimony succinctly and fairly. The crimes in Louisiana and Florida, which reversed the verdict of the ballot box, and the debauchery which their success brought to American politics, would have been no less clear; and Tilden's own and perfectly sufficient refutation would have been better understood. Pelton and other Democratic agents at the South were, no doubt, sorely tempted to entertain hospitably the idea of fighting the devil of crime rampant in the returning boards with the fire of \$1000 notes. The folly of any "dalliance" was greater than the temptation. It brought undeserved bitterness and darkness to the last years of the statesman.

The imputations made by Mr. Bigelow upon the wisdom of Senators Thurman and Bayard, and of Abram S. Hewitt, and even upon the good faith of the senators, for their part in the surrender by the House of Representatives to the Electoral Commission of the former's share of the power to determine what votes must be counted, are unjustified by any facts he gives or which are generally known. The Democrats in Congress had before them a cruelly doubtful and anxious question. Tilden himself procrastinated and shrank from responsibility. His plan is said by the biographer to have been to rest upon the constitutional provision that if, when the electoral votes were counted, no person should have a majority, the House must immediately, voting by states, choose the President; upon the fact that the House so voting was Democratic; and upon the certainty that it would decide that no person had a majority, and would then itself choose Tilden. As the House was commanded to act in a certain contingency, the argument was that it must, by necessary inference, have power itself to decide whether the contingency existed which enabled it to act. Whether Tilden were ever prepared to practically go the full length of the plan is doubtful. It certainly was not clearly stated or proposed by him in time either to set the pace for public opinion or to procure adequate consideration and execution in Congress. At the very last, it was by a sort of adumbration, rather than by explicit statement, that he let his opinion, if this were his opinion, become known. But if, early in December and as soon as the electoral colleges of the disputed states had cast their votes, he had openly and firmly declared his inflexible adhesion to the plan, its success would still have been gravely uncertain. There was at least practical doubt, with the Republican Senator Ferry in the Vice-President's chair,—whether the House could alone prevent the counting of the disputed Hayes votes. Alone it certainly could not procure the counting of the disputed Tilden votes. If the Vice-President, who officially held and produced the votes, and the Senate were, in spite of the House, to declare Hayes President, was there not the still more practical consideration that the Republicans were *beati possidentes*? General Grant would have placed Hayes in the White House; Hayes would have had what lawyers call color of title; and he would have been recognized by the Senate and by the actual possessors of all the federal civil

offices throughout the country and by the army and navy. Where would have been any constitutional power to resist the *de facto* President, where a tribunal practically competent to impeach his title? The loyalty of the Democratic party during the Civil War, whether rightly or wrongly, was doubted, and its Southern supporters were, as former rebels, still obnoxious to the dominant North. Would not the exercise or threat of anything like force have been fruitless except to reawaken the loyal sentiment of the war, to fatally discredit the Democratic party, and to firmly entrench its adversary as the guardian of the public peace? Public sentiment not having been challenged by Tilden in time, the only course left, in mid-January, 1877, to Mr. Hewitt and his associates which did not involve enormous risk to every political interest Tilden held dear, was to create a respectable tribunal with power recognized by both Senate and House. That anything better than the Electoral Commission could be had does not appear. A majority of the Republicans in each house voted even against its establishment.

Tilden's adversaries were fond of treating his political influence as a sort of black art, succeeding by magic, and his agents as engaged in omnipresent and sleepless *diablerie*. This was no more than one view, taken by commonplace and suspicious minds, of the widespread results produced by a just union of political ideals with astute knowledge of popular sentiment and skilful industry in organization. Mastery of practical details was a capital talent of his, as of every great statesman. He did not scorn ward meetings or committees, or "literary bureaus." Irksome as he must have found them, he held personal relations with all sorts and conditions of men, by interviews or by letters. So doing he both learned and taught. But he never played the demagogue; he was as much *bête noire* to every light-headed agitator as he was to every political jobber; he had nothing to offer either knaves or "cranks." The optimism whose expression broke through his sad-hued countenance and depressed manner, and his sagacity in choosing associates, brought him the exhilarating aid of young and high-minded men. From among them his party has since recruited some of its best leaders.

Intensely partisan to the last, profoundly hostile to Whig and later Republican theories, practised in the use of party machinery, and thoroughly believing in its necessity, Tilden still never forgot that the party was mere means to an end. If party organization became corrupt or faithless to its pretended motive, he would contest within, or, if necessary, would revolt and attack from without. He was not disturbed by cries that he was treasonably giving victory to the common enemy, or by canting slurs upon "reformers." Nor was this his policy only in 1848; or when he was younger, if, indeed, he were ever young after he outgrew roundabouts; or when he was outside party lines. In 1871, when the ransom of New York City depended upon defeating the Tammany legislative candidates, and the Tammany leaders offered him all the other offices, he would not compromise away the only offices which could be

effective for reform. The "wheel-horses" and "practical men" in the New York convention of 1871 were aghast to hear what fell from the lips of the titular head of their party. To quote his own fine words:—

"I told them that I felt it to be my duty to oppose any man who would not go for making the government of this city what it ought to be, at whatever cost, at whatever sacrifice. If they did not deem that 'regular,' I would resign as chairman of the state committee, and take my place in the ranks of my plundered fellow-citizens and help them to fight their battle of emancipation."

"A million of people," he said later, "were not to be given over to pillage to serve any party expediency or to advance any views of state or national politics." In 1875, when he was Democratic governor, and likely to be the presidential candidate of his party, he told the people of Buffalo how little he thought of "regularity" when it was a livery worn to serve the devil in. "When the parties to which you belong come to make their nominations," he said, "if there be on the ticket any one not true to you, you have but to exercise the reserved right of the American citizen, — to vote for somebody else." And yet within a few years of his death men of the very class to whom Tilden was a relentless foe, invoked the prestige of his name in behalf of party "regularity" intended to shield the iniquities of municipal misgovernment.

The relatives who seized under the technique of testamentary law what they had not earned and what they knew was, by him who had earned it, meant for others, seriously diminished the noble monument of benefaction to the city of his career, which Tilden intended. But American history, more enduring than the marble walls, pictured by Mr. Bigelow as housing a great Tilden free library, will not soon let fade away the memory of this feeble, suffering man, the memory of his high-minded determination, shrinking from neither labor nor odium, the memory of his belief that the world could be made better, and the welfare of the masses of men greater, by sound and honest politics.

EDWARD M. SHEPARD.

Recollections of War Times; Reminiscences of Men and Events in Washington, 1860-1865. By ALBERT GALLATIN RIDDLE, formerly Member of the House of Representatives from the 19th District, Ohio. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1895. Pp. xi, 380.)

IN printing his reminiscences of our heroic age Mr. Riddle has been moved by a realization of the importance of such personal experiences to the future historian. The local color so indispensable to faithful history is mainly to be derived from the records of men who were behind the scenes in the great acts of the political drama. Mr. Riddle was a leading Whig,